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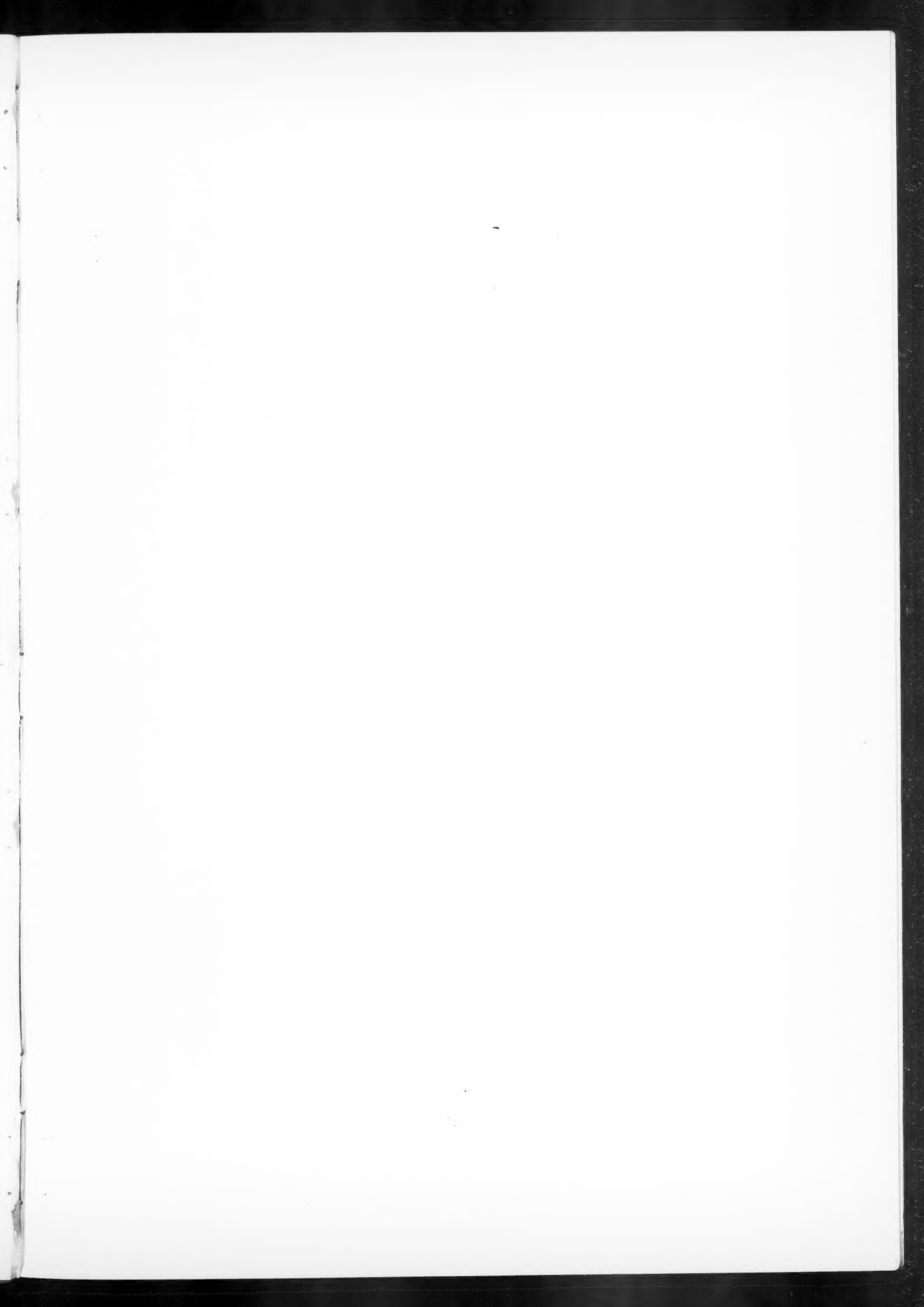
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FRANCESCO VANNI: VIRGIN AND CHILD BETWEEN ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST
AND ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA
Collection of the Author

ART IN AMERICA

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

VOLUME XXXI

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE CINQUECENTO IN SIENA

By JOHN POPE-HENNESSY
The Victoria and Albert Museum

The rule that art historians should refrain from publicising objects in their own possession is universally observed. It is with a measure of diffidence, therefore, that I venture in this article to discuss certain paintings and drawings which I myself own. My reasons for doing so are three. In the first place, it happens that they illustrate some unfamiliar aspects of cinquecento painting which I have long wished to bring to notice and on which, in the absence of suitable material, I could not otherwise have written. In the second the attribution of only one of them is open to dispute, and in the third all of the seven examples reproduced claim our attention on the grounds of documentary interest rather than of commercial value.

The first of the paintings, a lunette of the *Stigmatisation of St. Catherine of Siena* by Andrea di Niccolò (Fig. 1),¹ adds one more to the exiguous list of dated works by the last legitimate exponent of Sienese quattrocento style. Painted, like Andrea di Niccolò's *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Siena Gallery, on thin canvas, it shows the kneeling Saint surrounded by

¹Dimensions: 105.5 x 186.4 cm.

eleven angels against a star-strewn sky. Above, rises a semi-circular pink arch, surmounted by a half-length of the Virgin, while the upper corners of the painting are occupied by medallions of St. Peter Martyr and St. Vincent Ferrer, between them a pattern of nails and pear leaves tied together with lengths of scarlet ribbon. At the base of the picture there runs a quotation from Aeneas Sylvius' *Ad Laudem Seraphicae Sponsae D. nostri Jesu Christi Beatae Catherinae de Senis*: —

ILLA CRUCEM MEMORI PORTANS SUB PECTOR E SEMPER

STIGMATA PASSA FUT DICTU MIRABILE CHRISTI,

and the use of this provocative and frequently disputed text in conjunction with the complex iconography of the painting — the devil is seen beneath St. Catherine's knees, the three crowns float above her head, the marks of the Stigmata are visible on her hands and feet, and the heart of Christ burns in her breast — give the lunette something of the character of a manifesto in support of a devotion which vested interests in the later fifteenth century had attempted to discredit. A second inscription appearing in the open book held by St. Vincent Ferrer — *TIMETE DEUM ET DATE ILLI HONOREM QUIA VENIT HORA JUDICI. 1507 PREDICATE FRE ANASTASIO CUIUS CURA FACTA EST* — shows that the picture was painted three years before Andrea di Niccolò's last dated work, the *Madonna and Child between SS. Crispin and Crispinianus* in Sta. Mustiola at Siena, and resulted from a commission given to the artist by a Dominican priest.

It is significant that such an altarpiece should be the work of Andrea di Niccolò, for the cult of the Stigmatisation of St. Catherine in the early sixteenth century was essentially a popular devotion and Andrea himself was essentially a popular painter. In style the lunette preserves the rough handling and the decadent Vecchiettesque forms of the Santa Mustiola altarpiece, combining with them in such details as the Virgin and the hanging fruit those reminiscences of North Italian painting which at a rather earlier date had also infected the work of Benvenuto di Giovanni. In Andrea di Niccolò these influences persist long after they had lapsed elsewhere. Subsidised by the more distant parishes and the less prosperous confraternities — the Compagnia di Santa Lucia, the Compagnia delle Donne del Duomo di Massa, or the Fraternità di S. Maria della Pieve di Pacina — Andrea in his paintings reflects the unsophisticated and reactionary taste of the clients by whom he was employed, epitomising with the crude intensity and unregenerate devotionism of a Bavarian wood-carver the sentiments of the unlettered masses of his period.

By 1507 the inclinations of the ruling classes in Siena were veering sharply towards one or other of a string of itinerant but distinguished Umbrian artists. Just as the manner of Neroccio must be explained as an expression of the religious preconceptions of the *noveschi*, who in 1487 had returned to rule Siena, so the fashion for Signorelli, Pintoricchio and Perugino constituted a fundamentally aristocratic cult. Among Neroccio's patrons we find the Duke of Calabria, the Sernini and the heirs of Tommaso della Testa who had borne the imperial eagle and moons of the Piccolomini on his arms, among Perugino's the Vieri, the Tondi and the Chigi, among Signorelli's the Bichi and among Pintoricchio's and Genga's the Petrucci. Andrea di Niccolò might adhere obstinately to tradition, but his contemporaries for the most part adapted their methods to a new environment, and whether it is Neroccio in the mock virility of the *Stripping of Christ*, or Cozzarelli in the languor of the polyptych at Rosia, or Pacchiarotto in the ample Signorellian volume of the *Madonna* in the Conservatorio Femminile at Siena, we can recognize a style distinct from the traditionalism of Matteo di Giovanni and Vecchietta on the one hand and from the fully assimilated Umbro-Sienese manner of Fungai and Balducci on the other. It is to this transitional phase that we may attribute a tondo showing the *Virgin and Child between SS. Michael and Anthony the Abbot* by that elusive personality, the Stratonice Master (Fig. 6).² A comparison of its many morphological peculiarities with those of the Stratonice Master's principal works, the *Madonna and Child with two Saints and four Angels* formerly in the Austen collection and now in the possession of Mr. Francis Howard, the *Madonna and Child with an Angel* in the Lederer collection, Vienna, and the *Madonna Enthroned* in the collection of Lord Lee of Fareham, leaves no reasonable doubt as to its authorship, the squatting Child being based on a very similar cartoon to that of the frog-like Child in the Lederer *Madonna*, the Virgin's sensual mouth and heavy eyelids reappearing in the lateral angels of the Howard altarpiece, and her thick emphatic fingers in the painting in Lord Lee's collection. It is established that the Lederer *Madonna* was based directly on Botticelli's Chigi *Madonna* in Boston, a painting which is usually dated about 1480, and that the Howard altarpiece in all probability depends on the Corsini *Madonna* of Filippino Lippi of 1480-5.³ The tondo, on the other hand, belongs to a later phase than the Howard altarpiece and the *Madonna* in Vienna, for though the

²Dimensions: 44.8 x 44 cm. Coll.: Colville. The picture is not well preserved.

³Scharf, *Filippino Lippi*, Vienna, 1938, p. 30: *Um die Mitte der Achtzigerjahre*. The Howard *Madonna* is also connected with the Uffizi altarpiece of 1485.

Child affords a reminiscence of Filippino Lippi, though the St. Michael occupies the position which originally had been taken up by the attendant angel in Botticelli's painting and the Virgin looks out with the frigid detachment of a late *Madonna* by Matteo di Giovanni, the simple composition of the picture and its ripe sentiment reflect the changes which overcame Sieneese style round 1500, and to which the Stratonice Master, with apprehensions subtler than Cozzarelli's and instincts more eclectic than Neroccio's was better able than many others of his generation to respond.⁴

Between the years 1506, when Perugino completed his *Crucifixion* for S. Agostino⁵, and 1509, when Pintoricchio's Sieneese assistants started to paint the ceiling and Signorelli's the walls of the Palazzo del Magnifico, Girolamo del Pacchia returned to Siena after a period of residence in Rome.⁶ His first recorded altarpiece has disappeared but its style in more developed form survives in the *Ascension* which he painted not long after for the Carmine and in the later *Coronation of the Virgin* in S. Spirito. The Christ in a mandorla in the upper half of the first of these two pictures recalls many Umbrian models (the Christ in the *Resurrection* which Perugino had painted for the church of S. Francesco at Perugia in 1499 and the Redeemer in Pintoricchio's earlier *Aracoeli Glory of St. Bernardino*) and the figures below, the bottom section of a Peruginesque altarpiece such as that which Giannicola di Paolo painted in 1506-7 for the Baglioni Chapel in S. Domenico at Perugia. In the predella panel of the *Sposalizio*⁷ reproduced in Fig. 2 these contacts are still apparent. The generically Umbrian character of the composition is reminiscent of Perugino's *Christ giving the Keys to Peter* in the Sistine Chapel, and the symmetrical arrangement of the figures of the Fano predella of 1497 or of Lo Spagna's *Sposalizio* at Caen. The treatment, however, is more linear and the style less classical than that of Pacchia's Umbrian prototypes, and the incipient influence of Fra Bartolommeo and the young Franciabigio which

⁴The style of the tondo suffices to settle the possibility that the Stratonice Master was himself of Florentine origin, its facture being characteristically Sieneese. We may find a parallel for the appearance in Siena of works so intimately connected with Florentine painting as the Howard and Lederer *Madonnas* in the Ghirlandaiesque *Madonna* painted by Fra Giuliano for the church of S. Girolamo at Siena in 1487, cf. De Nicola, *Vita d'Arte*, x, 1912, 46-50. It is only just to add that the possibility of an Umbro-Sieneese phase in the Stratonice Master's work was envisaged by Berenson when he first reconstructed the artist's personality, cf. Berenson, *Missing Pictures of XV Century Siena*, *International Studio*, 1931, March, 37-41.

⁵Canuti, *Il Perugino*, i, 185, ii, 239-41. The disappearance of the predella of Perugino's S. Agostino *Crucifixion* and of the altarpieces which he painted for the Vieri and Tondi chapels in S. Francesco make it particularly difficult to define the exact scope of his influence in Siena.

⁶Milanesi, *Le Vite de' piu eccellenti Pittori, Scultori ed Architettori scritte da Giorgio Vasari*, 1906, vi, 429.

⁷Dimensions: 35.6 x 81.8 cm. I cannot preclude the possibility of some studio assistance in the execution of the panel.



FIG. 1. ANDREA DI NICCOLO: THE STIGMATISATION OF ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA
Collection of the Author



FIG. 2. GIROLAMO DEL PACCHIA: THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN
Collection of the Author

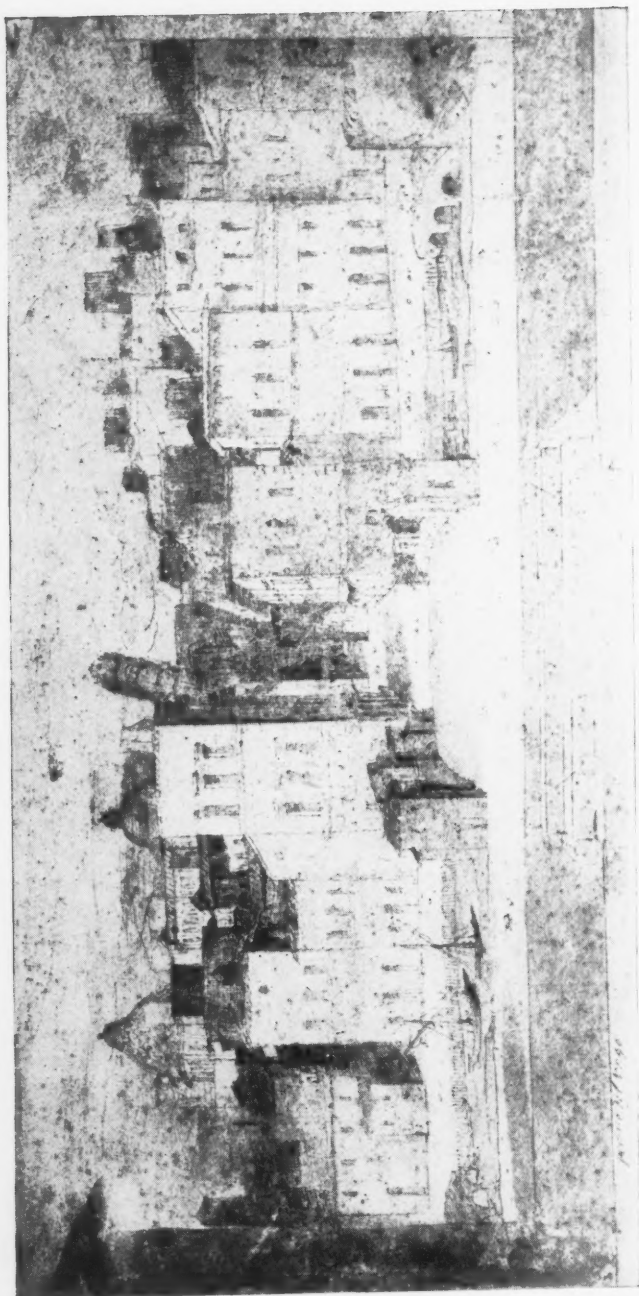


FIG. 3. DOMENICO BECCAFUMI: A VIEW OF PISA (Drawing)
Collection of the Author



FIG. 4. DOMENICO BECCAFUMI: THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL SEEKING THE PROMISED LAND (Sketch)
Collection of the Author

we trace in the figure of the Virgin, no less than the resemblance of the refined and feminine profile of St. Joseph to that of the Christ in the altarpiece in S. Spirito, suggest that the panel, like the *Coronation of the Virgin*, was painted after 1510 and before the commencement of Pacchia's frescoes in San Bernardino in 1518.

In Siena it is many years before we find the specifically mannerist attitude towards the human form already present in Pacchia's *Sposalizio* accompanied by a specifically mannerist attitude towards architecture. It is just such an attitude to architecture, however, that is represented by Beccafumi in the drawing of Pisa in Fig. 3.⁸ Attributed in the lower left hand corner to Pierino del Vaga, its ascription to Beccafumi is confirmed by a small sketch of Siena on a sheet in the British Museum.⁹ The impressionist treatment of the detail and the loose hatching employed throughout the drawing suggest a late dating, and it is possible that the sketch was executed between 1536 and 1540, the years during which Beccafumi was engaged on commissions for the Pisan Duomo.¹⁰ The drawing makes no claim to topographical exactitude, for if we suppose that it was visualized from the site of Buontalenti's later Loggie di Banchi (the street in the centre being the Via del Borgo and the bridge the Ponte di Mezzo before its reconstruction by Francesco Nava), the Duomo is wrongly orientated, whereas if we identify the street with the Via Santa Maria, which led in the sixteenth century, as it does today, from the Lungarno north to the Cathedral, the bridge (which would have crossed the river midway between the Ponte di Mezzo and the Ponte a Mare) must be regarded as imaginary. The two small bridges to right and left seem also to have been interpolated, while the buildings in the background (which declare "This is Pisa" rather as the backcloth of the Piazzetta in the first act of the *Gioconda* immediately establishes the scene of opera as Venice) would not normally be visible from the south side of the river. Alone these points might suggest that the drawing was intended as a theatrical project. But though other Sienese artists of the time were engaged in theatrical activities — Neroni, for example, designed the proscenium for a performance of the *Hortenzio* given by the Accademici degli Intronati,¹¹ and Pacchia is himself recorded as a member of the Congrega dei Rozzi¹² — no other theatrical drawing

⁸Dimensions: 18.4 x 38.7 cm. Pen with bistre and red wash on buff paper. Exh. *Exhibition of Architectural and Decorative Drawings*, The Courtauld Institute, February, 1941, no. 4.

⁹No. 1895-9-18-584.

¹⁰Lupi, *L'Arte senese a Pisa*, in *Bollettino senese di Storia Patria*, xi, 1904, 378.

¹¹Ugurgieri-Azzolini, *Le Pompe Sanesi*, 1649, ii. 357-8.

¹²C. Mazzi, *La Congrega dei Rozzi di Siena nel Secolo XVI*, 1882, i, 435.

of the date resembles this, and in the absence of a parallel we may be content to consider it as resulting from the application to an architectural subject of those principles of emphasis and of distortion of which such frequent and such fantastic use is made elsewhere in Beccafumi's work.

It is interesting to compare the drawing with a second sheet which can be assigned with confidence to the year 1546. This is a preliminary study¹³ for part of the frieze surrounding the *graffito* of Abraham's Sacrifice at the east end of the Cathedral. The frieze, which represents *The Children of Israel seeking the Promised Land*, is mentioned by Vasari, "una fregiatura di mezze figure, le quali portando vari animali mostrano d'andare a sacrificare,"¹⁴ and though assigned by Romagnoli to the year 1544¹⁵ was not in fact completed until two years later. An English traveller, the younger Richardson,¹⁶ alludes to it in an account of a visit to Siena written in 1754: —

The Pavement is chiefly of Meccarino, but some parts of it are by his Disciples; 'tis a work very famous and deservedly so. The Outlines of the figures are cut into the Marble, which being White, and those lines fill'd with a dark Colour, as are the Gravings which make the shadows, the Whole is a *Clair-Obscure* like a Silver Plate for Printing fill'd with its Ink, and wip'd ready for the Press. These Out-lines having been cut by common Workmen, are not so elegant as they might. The Figures are as big as Life and the Stories are from the Scripture. That of Abraham Offering is most esteem'd and is accordingly kept cover'd. At a private House in Sienna (I have forgotten the name of the Street) I saw the original Drawings of the Whole.

Though many of them are no longer in Siena, a number of drawings for the pavement survive. The majority of these, however, are to be connected with the *Scenes from the Story of Elijah* under the cupola and the *Scenes from the Story of Moses* above them, rather than with the last and greatest of Beccafumi's mosaics, and among published drawings it is only the *Siena Sacrifice of Abel*¹⁷ and two sheets for the *Sacrifice of Isaac* in the Uffizi¹⁸ that can be associated with the project of 1544. None the less there is reason to believe that in the first half of the nineteenth century other examples were known, for Romagnoli, in describing the now dispersed collec-

¹³Pen and bistre wash on white paper. Dimensions: 9.4 x 32.3 cm.

¹⁴Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, Florence, 1906, v, 646.

¹⁵Romagnoli, *Bell'Artisti Senesi*, vi, 593, states: "E pagato per i disegni . . . del fregio per il pavimento del Duomo." There seems no reason to doubt that the frieze was completed after the mosaic it encloses, the last payment for which was made on the 25th February, 1546.

¹⁶J. Richardson, *An Account of the Statues, Basso-Rilievos, Drawings and Pictures in Italy, France etc., with Remarks*, 1754, p. 328.

¹⁷Taccuino n. 45, c. 87.

¹⁸Uffizi, nos. 1259 and 1510.



FIG. 6. THE STRATONICE MASTER: VIRGIN AND CHILD BETWEEN
ST. MICHAEL AND ST. ANTHONY THE ABBOT
Collection of the Author

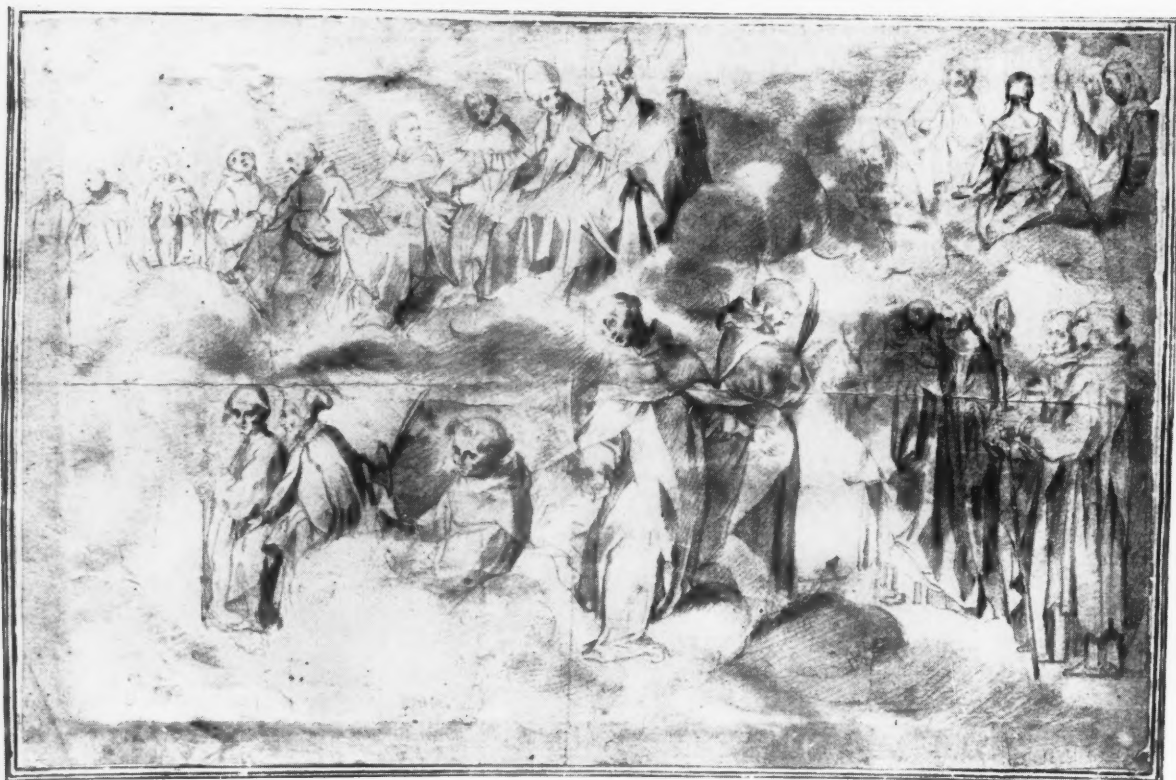


FIG. 7. FRANCESCO VANNI: THE SIENESE SAINTS (Drawing)
Collection of the Author

tion of drawings by Beccafumi owned by the Cavaliere Bellanti, specifically refers to "uno studio per il fregio del pavimento del Duomo."¹⁹

Cust, in the volume which he dedicated to the pavement,²⁰ comments that the Spannocchi cartoons for the Moses mosaics, now in the Pinacoteca at Siena, "show the artist's skill as a draughtsman far better than reproductions on the pavement as it now exists." This view must be reiterated in the case of the frieze, which is so rubbed as to show little more than the silhouettes of the figures Beccafumi designed. The present sheet, which covers that part of the frieze contiguous to the *Sacrifice of Abel* (Fig. 4), is clearly a preliminary sketch rather than a working drawing. It contains details which were omitted in the final version (the drapery round the shoulder of the bearded man to the left and the dress of the woman next him were considerably simplified in marble) and others (the fluted base of the vase carried by one woman or the prancing goat on the urn held by a second) which time has since erased. More important, it lends point to Richardson's criticism of the execution of the pavement itself, since juxtaposition of such a figure as the nude full-face woman in the one medium and in the other provides a living instance of the process by which a two-dimensional pattern was evolved from what had been intended as a three dimensional design.

Not the least significant aspect of Beccafumi's style is the influence which it exerted on the later cinquecento, and notably on Francesco Vanni, who in the time of Lanzi²¹ was designated "il miglior pennello della scuola," and today disputes with Fabio Signorini the claim to be considered the last Siennese artist of importance. But although Antal in a remarkable article²² has defined the compositional principles of Vanni as a "Weiterführung und Zuspitzung der Prinzipien Beccafumis," criticism in general has stressed the interprovincial at the expense of the indigenous ingredients of his style, and so able a writer as Professor Venturi²³ will allow that only in one work, the *Virgin appearing to SS. Bernardino and Catherine of Siena* of 1481 in the chapel of S. Bernardino, does Vanni betray his dependence on the Siennese tradition. In part this emphasis on the eclecticism of Francesco Vanni is due to literary sources, which one and all record a period of two years spent studying with Passarotti in Bologna, an early apprenticeship

¹⁹M. Gibellino-Krascenninikowa, *Il Beccafumi*, Siena, 1933, 115.

²⁰Cust, *The Pavement Masters of Siena*, London, 1901, 93.

²¹Lanzi, *Storica Pittorica dell'Italia*, Florence, 1822, i, 303.

²²Antal, *Zum Problem des Niederländischen Manierismus*, in *Kritische Berichte*, 1928-9, iii-iv.

²³Venturi, *Storia della Pittura Italiana*, Milan, 1934, vol. 9, vii, 1042.

in Rome when Vanni at sixteen "andava disegnando le belle opere di Raffaello"²⁴ worked with Giovanni de' Vecchi and came in contact with Federigo Zuccherò, and a subsequent period in Siena in the course of which he was attracted to the orbit of Baroccio. In part also it is due to the fact that from the years between 1580, when Vanni returned to Siena, and 1585, when he produced the earlier of the two *Annunciations* in the Servi,²⁵ nothing but the fresco in San Bernardino survives to indicate the nature of his style.

The first of the two drawings reproduced (Frontispiece)²⁶ forms an epitome of this early phase of Vanni's work. Surrounded by hanging curtains the Virgin is seated under a *baldacchino* between SS. John Baptist and Catherine of Siena. Round the left side of the sheet runs a drawing for the frame, composed of circular medallions (in one of which is the inscription "Qui vani i misterii della rosaria") interspersed by oval lozenges containing each a single rose, while on the right side of the drawing are the words, "Qu. e la cornice che va di legname finta di noce a bustata di oro." It is not possible to identify either in the *Inventario* of Brogi or among Vanni's extant works the altar-piece for which the drawing was made,²⁷ although a not dissimilar picture (but with a landscape background) attracted the attention of Della Valle²⁸ in a church outside San Quirico d'Orcia: "Un bel quadro di questo artefice, rappresentante la Beata Vergine del Rosario con i misterii che gli vanno congiunti. In essa ebbe tutto il favore dell Grazie ridenti, e con le tinte saporite e vivaci riempi di espressione gratissima il valta della Vergine e di Santa Catarine da Sienna, che pare innamorata del Divino Infante." While the head of the Virgin is vaguely suggestive of the Baroccesque type which we find in its purest form in the Montalcino *Madonna* of 1588²⁹ there is little or nothing elsewhere in the drawing to suggest the names of Baroccio on the one hand

²⁴Baglione, *Le Vite de' Pittori, Scultori et Archetetti dal Pontificate di Gregorio XIII in fino a' Tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo*, 1642, 110. The sources for Vanni's early Bolognese period are far from certain, and though efforts have been made to prove the contrary, there is no evidence of the influence of Passarotti in any of his extant works.

²⁵A. M. Ciaranfi-Francini, *La Prima Annunciazione di Francesco Vanni ai Servi di Siena*, in *Bollettino senese di Storia Patria*, n. s. ix, 1938, 189-97.

²⁶Pen and bistre wash heightened with red on white paper: 9¼ x 7⅝ in. Coll.: Sir James Knowles. Exh. Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Pictures of the School of Siena*, 1904 no. 73. Inscribed in the lower left hand corner 'F. Vanius.'

²⁷A second and apparently an earlier drawing for the same composition is stated to exist in the Palazzo Chigi-Saraceni at Siena, cf. *Exhibition of Pictures of the School of Siena*, London, (Burlington Fine Arts Club) 1904, 73-4.

²⁸Della Valle, *Lettere Sanesi*, Venice, 1782, iii, 347.

²⁹E. Mirolli, *Gli ultimi Sprazzi del Cinquecento a Siena, La Diana*, vii, 1932, 59-79, somewhat surprisingly dates the Montalcino *Madonna* in the year 1581. The date of the S. Giovannino *Baptism* was established by Brandi, *Francesco Vanni*, *ART IN AMERICA*, xix, 1931.

or of Giovanni de' Vecchi and Federigo Zuccherò on the other. Thus the classical composition recalls the *Coronation of the Virgin* of Brescianino, and the Child derives from Leonardo's *Madonna Litta*, while in the St. John, whose Gothic movement is redolent of the style of Beccafumi's middle period, we find ourselves confronted with the imagery of Donatello's Baptist transformed and modified by the feminine talent of a freer and more gifted Pacchiarotto. But the austerity, which had been a natural concomitant of the religious imagery of the early cinquecento, and was preserved to Vanni's day in the desiccated manner of the elder Salimbeni, is tempered by the otiose and romantic conceptions of the post-Tridentine world, and if the drawing reminds us of the sources on which Vanni drew, its details, the flushed face of the Virgin and the voluminous drapery of the kneeling saint, anticipate those later works where Vanni's style becomes a physical counterpart of the refrain with which the liturgy he illustrated itself not long before had been invested: "Ego quasi rosa plantata super rivos aquarum fructificavi."

The metamorphosis which occurred in Vanni's middle period, however, was not so complete as has sometimes been supposed, and even when the influence of Baroccio dominates his work it continues to reveal a linearism and a fugitive, sometimes affected sentiment peculiar to Siena. These characteristics are more readily apparent in Vanni's drawings than in the paintings and engravings which were made from them, and nowhere more so than in a preliminary study in red chalk³⁰ (Fig. 5) for his celebrated map of Siena. The date of the map can be established from a letter written by Vanni to Lorenzo Usimbardi³¹, the principal "ministro" of Ferdinando dei Medici, in 1595, in which, with an air at once obsequious and familiar, he demands that Usimbardi should finance its publication. While unwilling to take the task of engraving the plan on his own shoulders, he is at the same time anxious that "questa mia fatica di molti mesi" should be reproduced on a scale large enough to distinguish it from other similar works. In the time of the Grand Duke Francesco, who had died eight years earlier, it had been the custom in such cases to pay a stipulated sum to the designer of the engraving, a fee of ten scudi a month to the engraver, and in addition the cost of the metal plate on which the engraving was made. The precedent to which Vanni appealed, moreover, had consisted of six plates, whereas Vanni's comprised only four, and the map of Siena consequently would cost considerably less than the two hundred scudi

³⁰Red chalk on white paper: 27.6 x 41.8 cm.

³¹Borghesi e Banchi, *Nuovi Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte senese*, 1898, 613.

expended in the earlier case. Furthermore if the engraving of Siena were published in this way, Vanni himself was willing to follow it up with a similar engraving of the city of Pisa. We may assume that Vanni's appeal did not remain unanswered, since in the following year the four sheets of the engraving were issued as he had described them, with a dedication "Al Serenissimo Don Ferdinando dei Medici Granduca di Toscana III Francesco Vanni pittore senese fedelissimo servo dedica."

The engraving of Siena is mentioned by Ugurgieri:³² "In oltre fece quella gran fatica di mettere alla stampa la Città di Siena sopravi un Paradiso di tutti e beati di detta Città; come anco fece la vita di S. Caterina da Siena in dodici pezzi, ed il tutto gli fu intagliato dal famoso Pietro d'Anversa, come anco molte altre cose intagliategli dal detto Pietro," and even were the engraving not signed by Pieter Jode juxtaposition of its upper portion with the title-page of the *Vita, Mors, Gesta et Miracula quaedam selecta B. Catherinae Senensis*, engraved by Jode after drawings by Vanni in 1597, would suffice to prove the attribution. In the one case as in the other we find that Jode, who had been trained in the studio of Goltzius,³³ has interpreted Vanni's designs in terms of Flemish mannerism, and that both individually and collectively Vanni's groups of saints bear a stamp not unlike that which at a rather later date Martin de Vos imposed on Rustichino.

Vanni's preliminary drawing (Fig. 7) corresponds (in reverse) with the upper left part of the engraving. Though the points in which it differs from the engraved version are few (the seated woman, whose back is visible in the right hand upper corner of the drawing and in the left hand upper corner of the engraving, approximates more closely in the former to the seated woman in the right foreground of Vanni's *Miracle of Saint Catherine* of 1596 in S. Domenico, the poses of the seated bishops are slightly modified in the final version, and the relationship between the two standing saints in the centre is treated in a more emphatic way), there is little in the rigid forms of the engraving to indicate the richness and suavity of Vanni's original conception. By 1595 Francesco Vanni had learned all that Baroccio had to teach him, and had acquired a mastery of the medium of red chalk that was the equal of Baroccio's own. But in the preliminary drawing (though we may be reminded here of the kneeling Ambrogio Sansedoni in the Fontegiusta altarpiece, there of the figures of

³²Ugurgieri-Azzolini, *op. cit.*, 369.

³³Corneille de Bie, *Het gulden cabinet van de Edelvry Schildercon*, Antwerp, 1661, 493. The activity of Jode in Siena remains obscure and is not discussed by Hymans, *Histoire de la Gravure dans l'Ecole de Rubens*, Brussels, 1879, 91-4.

Tommaso Nucci and Raymond of Capua executed not long after in S. Domenico and there again of the withered San Giacinto in the altarpiece of 1599) we are conscious not as in the paintings of the preponderant influence of Baroccio, but of the fact that Vanni created from study of Baroccio's work a personal synthesis not distinct in kind from that deduced a century and a half before by Giovanni di Paolo from Fra Angelico or by Domenico di Bartolo from Fra Filippo Lippi.

Vanni's share in the design, however, was not limited to the upper part. The letter to Usimbardi describes the difficulties he encountered in drafting the map proper ("oltra l'esser fatto con ogni diligenza di misure e siti, con ridurre in prospettiva la difficoltà di queste strane colline, e insieme ritratto ogni cosa dal vero, fadiga non più fatta da altri, salve che qualche loco principale"), and it was perhaps a tribute to his industry that the perspective plan of the city of Siena which Rutilio Manetti was commissioned to paint in September 1609 should for long also have been ascribed to him.³⁴ Some further indication of the popularity of the engraving is afforded by the appearance not long after of a simplified version of the lower part dedicated to Pandolfo Savini, the well-known Siennese dilettante and collector, by the printer Matteo Forlimi.³⁵ Vanni himself had introduced views of Siena into earlier works, and glimpses of the town are to be seen behind the apparition on the ceiling of San Bernardino, under the Fontegiusta altarpiece, behind the *Miracle of St. Catherine* in San Domenico, and on the right of the *Mystic Marriage* in the church of the Rifugio. In these scenes Vanni followed the precedent set by Beccafumi, by Andrea di Niccolò's *Crucifixion*, Neroccio's *Biccherna* cover and Vecchietta's *Calvary*, by Cozzarelli, Matteo di Giovanni and Sano di Pietro, and which these artists had derived in turn through Bartolo di Fredi from the early trecentisti. Of this sequence Vanni's engraving forms the last component part. Redolent of that nostalgia with which the Siennese quattrocento painter contemplated mannerism, and the Siennese mannerist contemplated the Baroque, its pattern of streets set against docile hills, its easy slopes crossed and recrossed by lines of trees, established in the Europe of Rubens and Carracci the civic sense of earlier centuries, and in so doing resuscitate the spirit, as they reverted to the form, of the *Buon Governo* of Ambrogio Lorenzetti.

³⁴Brandi, *Rutilio Manetti*, Siena, 1931, 78-9.

³⁵Lusini, *Matteo Forlimi, stampatore-calcografo del sec. XVI* in *La Diana*, vi, ii, 1931, 75-90. Though Forlimi was active in Siena as early as 1589, it is reasonably certain that Forlimi's plate depends on Vanni's and not Vanni's on Forlimi's. Both, however, contain traditional elements.

A CAMBODIAN BRONZE HOARD

BY SHERMAN E. LEE
Detroit, Michigan

During the reign of Jayavarman VII (1182-1201 A.D.) the religion of Cambodia experienced an official change and re-orientation.¹ Mahāyāna Buddhism received the sanction of the King, the cults of Viṣṇu and Śiva were absorbed in the Buddhist revival, and the ritual worship of the King in Lingam form (Devarāja) was transformed to worship of the King as an earthly manifestation of the all-important Buddhist deity, Lokeśvara. These remarkable transformations were materialized in the great architectural monument in Angkor Thom, the Bayon. This structure was not merely a palace or a temple, but a stone diagram embodying the concept of the universe according to the prevailing theology. Like an image it performed a primary intellectual and theological purpose in which other functions were absorbed and to which they were of secondary importance.

From this interesting period comes a hoard of seven bronze images, (four Buddhist, two Vaiṣṇavite and one undetermined) all now in American collections, which bear the imprint of the new religious orientation. This article will attempt a description of the images in the find with the hope that the mere presentation of relatively little known material will prove useful.

The find, enclosed by a brick shell, was found in 1919 at a depth of 25 centimeters at a place between Bienhoa and Tuan near Saigon in French Indo-China. The images were brought to Paris in 1925 by the Forest Inspector who found them, and were placed in the collection of M. Bouasse Lebel. Some of them were exhibited at the Musée Cernuschi by A. d'Ardenne de Tizac in 1925. Here they remained until the 1930's when they were placed on the market and eventually found their way to American collections. The seven bronzes were evidently buried at the same time for they have the same patination, heavily encrusted and lumpy, light green with occasional spots of blue and rust. The careful burial would indicate that the group was not of haphazard make-up, but that the figures were considered to complement one another. Because of their late date and because Bienhoa is at the eastern limits of the Khmer Kingdom, it would seem possible that the images were buried for purposes of safety when the waves of

¹See Paul Mus, *Angkor in the Time of Jayavarman VII* in *Indian Arts and Letters*, new series, Vol. XI, No. 2, pp. 65-75.

Siamese invasion reached the heart of Cambodia, Angkor, in the fifteenth century.

Stylistic appearances are seldom a safe means of dating the traditional arts of India and Indonesia. However certain specific stylistic features, as well as the mixed iconography, Mahāyāna Buddhist and Vaiṣṇavite, indicate the reign of Jayavarman VII as the period of origin. Most apparent is the half-circle convention found on the knee of the standing image of Viṣṇu. This characteristic can be found only in the later productions, most noticeably at Bayon (late twelfth and early thirteenth century A. D.) in a relief figure of a Bodhisattva,² and at Néak Pân (second half of the twelfth century) in a figure of Lokeśvara.³ The especially short version of the sampot (skirt) and the marked almond-shape character of the eyes are also characteristic of the Bayon style. There is a relief of Viṣṇu at Angkor⁴ which is almost of the same conformation as the one in this find, but the sampot is somewhat longer. The foliage conventions at Angkor (first half of the twelfth century A. D.) are very much like those on the altar image now in the Freer Gallery. However, the Bayon style is most in evidence when considering the group as a whole. A description of the hoard follows:

Fig. I. THE MEDITATION OF BUDDHA; altar image in four parts. Height: 11 13/16 inches. The Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. Reproduced in *Artibus Asiae*, 1926, No. 3, p. 197 (shown minus the bodhi tree).

The Buddha is seated on a simple lotus throne in the contemplative posture of the ascetic (*padmāsana*). His hands are at repose (*dhyāna mudrā*). Stripped of all but a few ornaments, his body is revealed in a formal, frontal posture suitable to the solemnity of the occasion when the Buddha crosses the threshold of Enlightenment and comprehends the universe and the goal for which men seek. Behind him is a flame edged mandala (*jvālā prabhā-mandala*). It seems probable that the S shaped units at each side of the figure are the tail ends of two supporting dragon dieties (a dragon screen, *maṅkara-torana*)⁵ as in the second altar image, now in Cleveland. Above and behind the mandala is a fragmentary representation of the Bodhi tree beneath which the Meditation and Enlightenment occurred. The image rests on a stand with six legs. In a frieze running between the upper and lower projections of the stand proper the twenty-four mortal Buddhas are represented, each a miniature duplicate of the central figure, Gautama, the twenty-fifth mortal Buddha. The unusual size and the perfect embodiment of idea in image make this bronze especially important in later Cambodian sculpture.

Fig. II. RITUAL BELL (*ghantā*). Height: 9 5/8 inches. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts.

The Trident (*triśūla*) is an ancient Buddhist symbol found prominently on such early monuments as Sāñcī, and is said to symbolize the three aspects of Buddha's teach-

²G. Coralie de Remusat, *L'Art Khmer*, Paris, *Les Editions d'Art et d'Histoire*, 1940, plate 123.

³*Idem.*, *Les Arts de L'Indochine*, Paris, *Les Editions d'Art et d'Histoire*, 1938, plate 9.

⁴Angkor, *Les Editions "Tel,"* 1931, plate 33.

ing: Buddha, the Law and the Church. The trident may also represent the everlasting, symbolized by the thunderbolt (*Vajra*). The outer prongs of the trident surmounting this bell are made up of dragon (*makara*) heads facing in to the central prong. The central part is decorated with a male dancing figure (*apsara*?), repeated on both sides. Below the principal trident is a secondary one with small *makara* heads facing outwards and with a niche for the central prong. In the niche on both sides is a seated female figure in the posture *padmāsana* and the gesture *dhyāna*, i. e., the attitude of meditation. There are no identifying attributes for the figures and as the motif occurs on both Brahmanical and Buddhist bells there is no way at present to give names to the figures. As a general principle, however, the juxtapositions of male and female is a common and well understood subject in nearly all Indian and Indonesian art. The actual bell is separate from the trident and is in a markedly different state of preservation. Although undoubtedly ancient the bell probably does not belong to the trident top.

Fig. III. THE MEDITATION OF BUDDHA; altar image (lower part missing?). Height: 10½ inches. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio.

The Buddha is similar to I but the legs are more contracted, the arms less full and the face somewhat more externalized. The posture and gesture are the same except that this figure holds a round object, probably a lotus bud, in the upper hand. Behind the Buddha is a niche outlined by makaras and stylized flames, the upper part supported by two pilasters. Directly behind and above the figure is a wheel rosette symbolizing the base of the Buddha's teaching, the Sermon at the Deer Park in Benares, known as Turning the Wheel of the Law. Above and behind the niche is a stylized bodhi tree conceived more in the round than in image I. The differences noted between I and III might be explained on the basis of craftsmanship but more likely by a slightly later date for III.

Fig. IV. KUVERA (?) in his form Jambhala. Standing image. Height: 8⅛ inches. The Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Kuvera, one of the eight Dharmapāla or defenders of the Law, is regent of the North. In this form he is warlike and is chief of the *yakṣa* army. A markedly different form is that of Jambhala, in which he fulfills his functions as God of Wealth and is represented as a fat deity, heavily bejeweled. Although there are no specific attributes on this image that would clinch the identification, the grotesque and corpulent character of the figure indicate Jambhala. He stands on a lotus pedestal in a frontal position, wears a pointed crown on his head, a cloak over his shoulders and a long skirt around the lower part of his body. Both the hands, which are damaged, are raised in the gesture, fear not (*abhaya mudrā*).

Fig. V. VISNU. Standing image. Height: 9⅛ inches. The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan.

Visnu, the Preserver, was especially important in the twelfth century; most of the reliefs at Angkor Vat are of Vaisnavite subjects. This image has the usual marks of a Brahmanical deity: high dressed hair (*jatā mukuta*), the third eye in the forehead. The four arms of the god are explained by theological necessity, not by naturalistic appearance. They are necessary to hold the attributes which designate the

*For concise and useful references to iconography see A. Coomaraswamy *Catalogue of the Indian Collections, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Vols. 1 and 2.

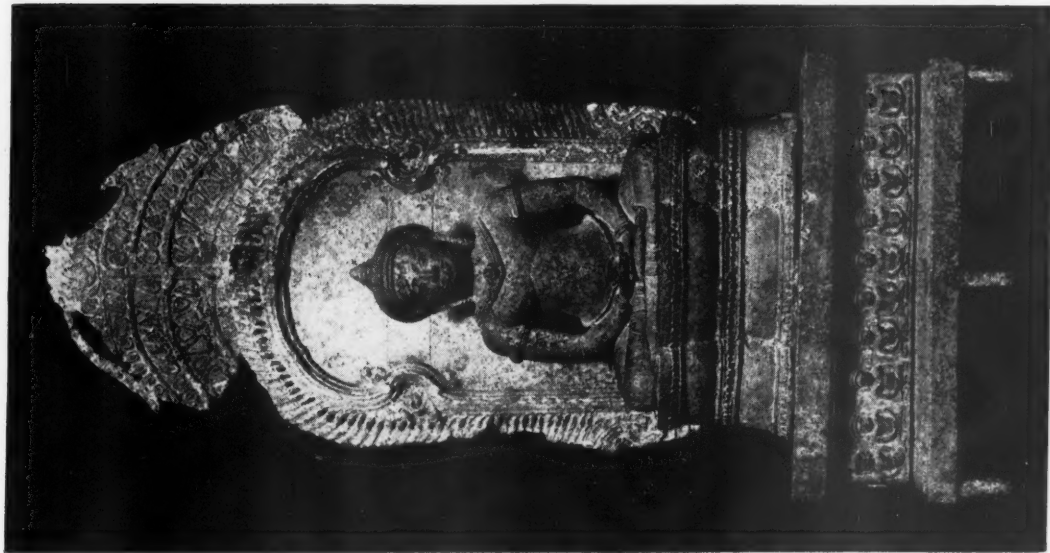


FIG. 1. SEATED BUDDHA
Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

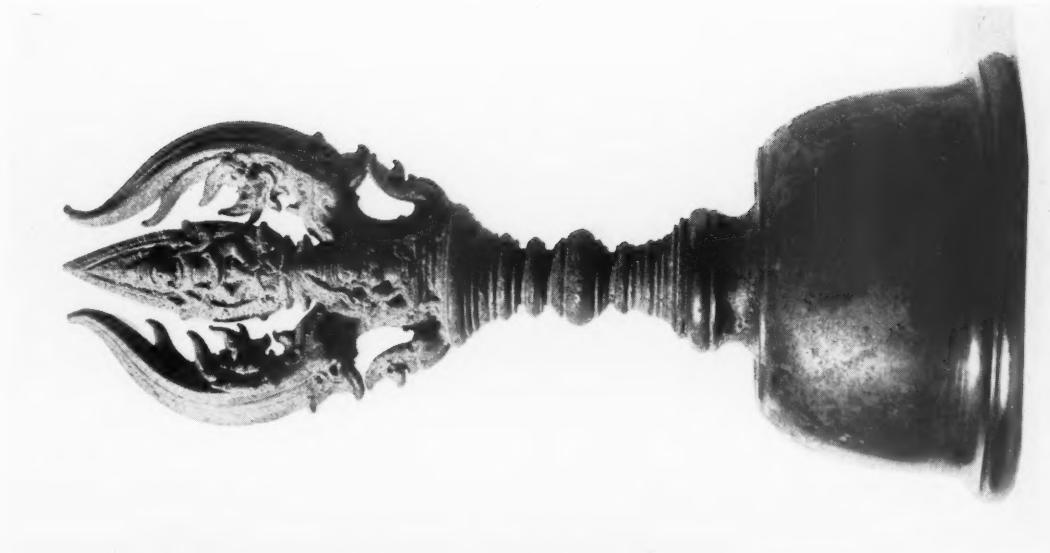


FIG. 2. RITUAL BELL
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



FIG. 3. SEATED BUDDHA
Cleveland Museum of Art



FIG. 4. STANDING IMAGE —
Kuvera (?)
Philadelphia Museum of Art



FIG. 5. STANDING IMAGE — VISNU
Detroit Institute of Arts



FIG. 6. STANDING IMAGE — LAKSHMI
*William Rockhill Nelson
Gallery of Art, Kansas City*

deity and are intellectual symbols of his powers. This image of Visnu carries the usual symbols: lotus bud (*padmā*), discus (*caṅka*), conch shell (*saṅkha*) and mace (*gadā*). The benevolent nature of Visnu is expressed here in formal but understandable terms.

Fig. VI. LAKSMĪ. Standing image. Height: 9¼ inches. The William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Missouri.

Laksmī is the consort of Visnu, his feminine counterpart of energy (*śakti*). This image is very similar to others called Prajñāpāramitā, the Mahāyāna Goddess of Transcendent Wisdom and the consort of Avalokiteśvara. However, the third eye indicates a Hindu and not a Buddhist deity. The probability of the figure being Laksmī is strengthened by the fact that it is almost exactly the same height as the Visnu image and has a similar square base. The only visible attribute is a lotus bud held in the left hand. Both Laksmī and Prajñāpāramitā may carry this symbol. The facial expressions, ornament and technique of V and VI are so similar that they might well be the work of the same artisan.

DANCING APSARAS (not illustrated). Height: about 3½ inches. Private collection, present location unknown.

The apsaras is a nymph of the lower heavens. They are favorite representations in Khmer sculpture, particularly as a frieze of dancers. This tiny figure (lightly jeweled and with a pointed head-dress) is full of animation, one leg being raised in an exaggerated manner that is most vigorous. The treatment as a whole is summary, adding to the effect of activity. The function of the image is puzzling. Perhaps it was used as an attendant figure in much the same manner as the posturing guardians of Chinese gilt bronze groups.

FRANCESCO MORONE IN AMERICA

By E. TIETZE-CONRAT
New York City

The figure of Francesco Morone, who was born in 1471 and died in 1529, fits into the businesslike activity of his father Domenico's provincial workshop. Among Domenico's pupils he is the only one for whom Mr. Berenson finds a few appreciative words. It is only fair that they refer to his pictorial gifts; his faculties of composition and invention would not deserve any commendation. Like almost all sensitive artists living in this period of transition from the XVth to the XVIth century, Francesco swings from the austere and expressive pathos of the early to the amiable serenity of the late Mantegna, from Dürer's *Apocalypse* to his *Life of the Virgin*. The last comparison is chosen intentionally. In provincial centers, as well as in the big cities, artists had become acquainted with Dürer's

woodcuts and were using every bit of them that seemed serviceable. First of all his landscapes were in favor; in these even for the most gifted Venetians Dürer was the pioneer. But while artists like Giorgione or the young Titian were initiated by Dürer to a new mental attitude and presented with an enhanced originality, artisans of Francesco Morone's type were satisfied with taking over specific motives from his landscapes. The view from Dürer's engraving *The Sea Monster* (B. 71) is inserted into Morone's *Madonna in Verona*. Morone exerted himself for his compositions as little as for the landscapes. The figure groups are sometimes merely inverted — the *Madonna with Saints and Angels* of 1503 in Santa Maria in Organo, for instance, repeats the painting in the Brera of 1502, only slightly modified and in reverse, and the painting in the National Gallery in London is like a reflected image of the one mentioned above in the Museo Civico in Padua. In the landscapes, on the other hand, the simple monotony is typical. The unpretentious rolling hills, from the midst of which a few isolated rocks emerge, look like derivatives of early Mantegna formulae; the slender conifers alongside occasional cypresses and trees with spherical foliage appear virginal as in the panels of Umbrian primitives. Nevertheless Mr. Berenson is right in emphasizing for Morone his Giorgionesque approach to nature. The primitive elements enhance the mature pantheism of the new century in which a very belated Gothic reaches a thrilling vitality. Those provincial Schools are not spearheads of the artistic movement, but in their unassuming backwardness they bear sweeter fruit than the leading centres where the first fruits are brought forth.

Thus Francesco Morone's art is surrounded by an aura of resignation. What I wish to add to our knowledge of it — summed up in Rudolph Wittkower's exhaustive article in the 1927 *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* — is limited to the publication of a few unknown works by him existing in this country. I omit accordingly the altarpiece in Princeton, published by Mr. F. J. Mather, Jr. in *ART IN AMERICA*, 1936, vol. XXIV, p. 58, and the two Sainted Monks in the Samuel Kress Collection, listed by Berenson (1932, p. 374). A miniature altarpiece in the Johnson Collection (Fig. 1) (on canvas, 23³/₈ by 18³/₈ inches) was classified by Berenson (*Johnson Coll.* p. 214) as "Unknown Follower of Mantegna." His rather casual reference to Caroto has in the new catalogue of the collection been augmented to a straightforward attribution of the painting to Caroto. In my opinion the relationship to authentic works of Francesco Morone is convincing; compare his *Madonna* in the Museo Civico at Padua, or the

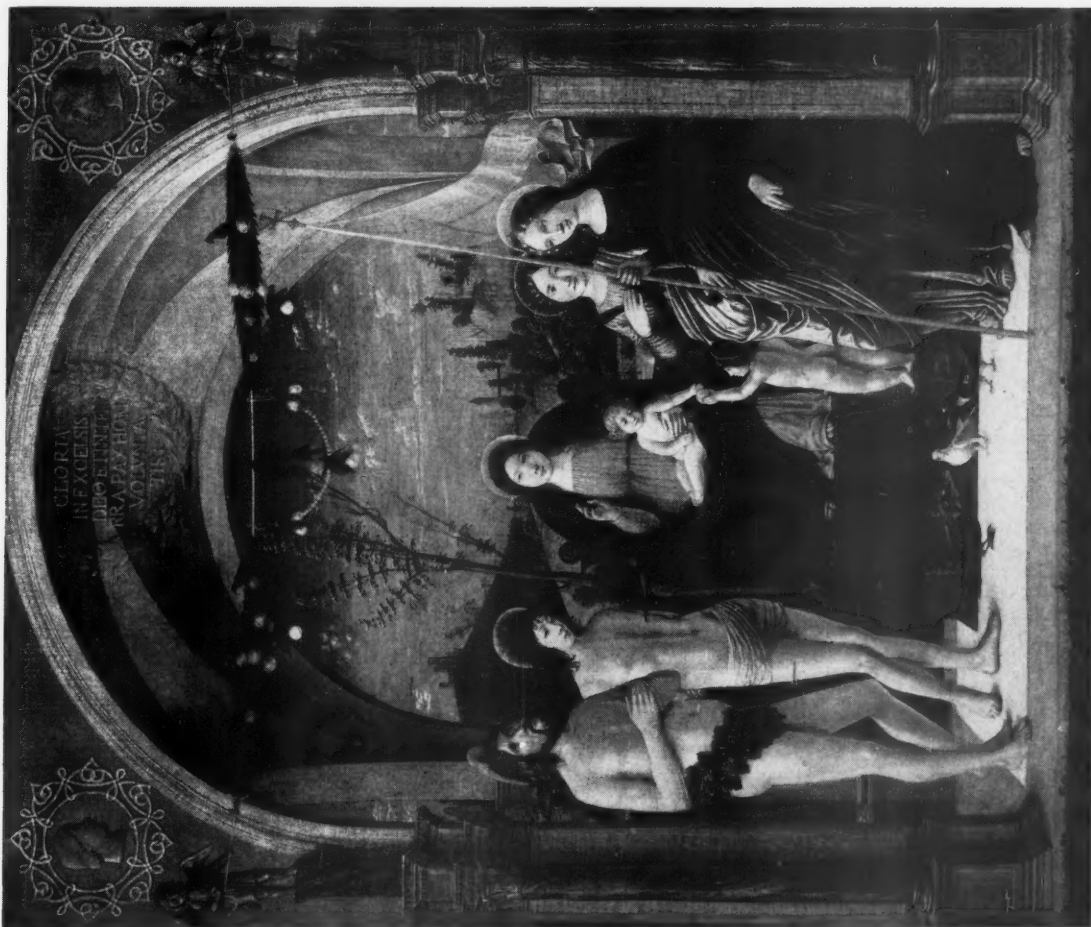


FIG. 1. FRANCESCO MORONE: ALTARPIECE
Johnson Collection, Philadelphia



FIG. 2. FRANCESCO MORONE: MINIATURE ALTARPIECE (Watercolor)
Mrs. Charles L. Cleveland, Chappaqua, N. Y.



FIG. 4. (above) FRANCESCO MORONE: VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH TWO SAINTS (Drawing)
Robert Lehman Collection, New York

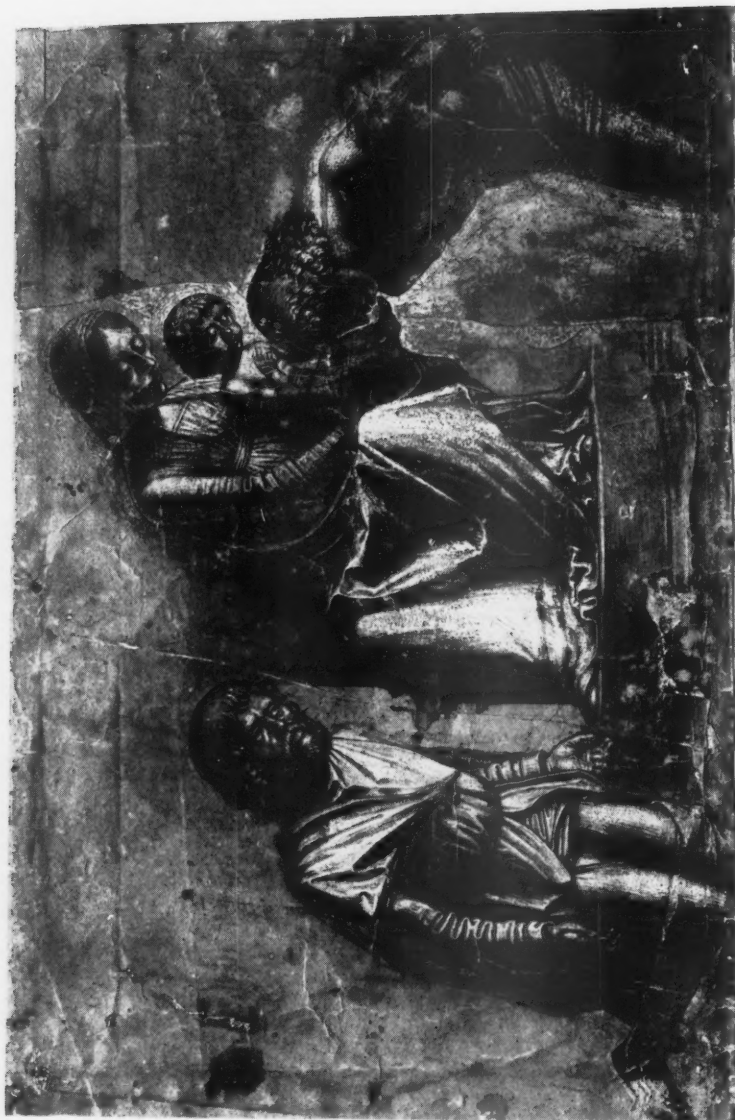


FIG. 3. (left) FRANCESCO MORONE: ST. PHILIP (Drawing)
Robert Lehman Collection, New York

general composition of the mural in the Museo Civico at Verona, dated 1515.

Berenson calls the painting a miniature altarpiece, a classification which fits still better a recently re-emerged picture owned by Mrs. Charles Cleveland of Chappaqua, New York (Fig. 2). The measurements are $8\frac{7}{8}$ by $6\frac{3}{8}$ inches only; the execution is very delicate, opaque watercolors on paper. On the back was found a strip of paper with an inscription referring to the Ottley Sale of March 12, 1838, lot 230, where Morone is introduced as "the pupil of Titian." The Virgin and Child are placed in such a manner that the background forms a continuous landscape instead of offering separate views. The mood of Dürer's *Life of the Virgin — The Visitation* — breathes here. At the right stands Saint Catherine, at the left a martyr crowned with a garland — Dorothy, Rose? The same saint in a green robe appears in the background pointing out a monastery on a hill to a white-clad monk. This monk may be the patron for whom Morone painted the miniature; it is fully signed and I am inclined to date it around 1510 to 1515.

The miniature forms a link between painting and drawing. The two actual drawings which I publish from the Robert Lehman Collection in New York (Figs. 3 and 4) show Morone from another angle. While his best known drawing in the Uffizi (no. 596, published by Schoenbrunner-Meder, no. 273, and by K. T. Parker in *North Italian drawings*) is a minutely executed "modello" in red chalk of the mural no. 560 in the Museo del Castel Vecchio in Verona, these two drawings lead immediately to his stock of studies. They must be early, for the dry, in the Saint Philip almost awkward, translation of a Mantegnesque foreshortening is typical of a period of juvenile ambition. A former owner inscribed the name of Francesco Morone on the sheets; there is no reason for questioning the attribution.

PAINTINGS BY NATHANIEL SMIBERT

BY ALAN BURROUGHS

Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University

Nathaniel, second son of John Smibert, was born in Boston in 1734 and died twenty-two years later, in November, 1756, after a short illness. The *Boston Gazette* gave him an enthusiastic obituary, noting among other things that his constitution was naturally tender and delicate, and that his manners were soft and engaging, while his conversation was lovely. "His scholastick acquirements were no less great than his natural Endowments of Mind: For though *Painting* was his peculiar Profession, yet he was more or less acquainted with almost every Science; and had Heaven permitted him Life, seemed capable of improving himself in All."

A letter from Judge Cranch of Quincy, Mass., replying in 1755 to one from Nathaniel Smibert¹ reveals further the polite esteem in which the painter was held: "When I consider the ease with which your hand improves the beauty of the fairest form, and adds new charms to the most angelic face, I do not wonder that your riper imagination should fly beyond your pencil and draw the internal picture of your friend so much fairer than the original." And fifty-four years later Judge Cranch called Nathaniel Smibert "one of the most amiable youths that I ever was acquainted with; but he came forth as a flower and was cut down. . . . I do not recollect," he added, "that he left any writings. He received his grammar instruction under the famous master, John Lovell, but did not proceed to a collegiate education. He engaged in his father's profession of painting, in which he emulated the excellencies of the best masters; had his life been spared he would probably have been, in his day, what Copley and West have since been, *the honor of America in the imitative art*. I remember that one of his first portraits was the picture of his old master Lovell, drawn while the terrific impressions of the pedagogue were yet vibrating upon his nerves. I found it so perfect a likeness of my old neighbor, that I did not wonder, when my young friend told me that a sudden, undesigned glance at it had often made him shudder."

This portrait of Lovell (Fig. 1) has been owned by Harvard University at least since 1846 when a committee of the Boston Latin School Association discovered "among the neglected rubbish of the College" a portrait

¹Contributed by the Judge's son to William Dunlap for the *History of the Arts of Design*, Bayley-Goodspeed edition, I, 29.



FIG. 1. NATHANIEL SMIBERT: JOHN LOVELL
Harvard University



FIG. 2. NATHANIEL SMIBERT: DOROTHY WENDELL.
Mrs. E. B. Afford, Brookline, Mass.

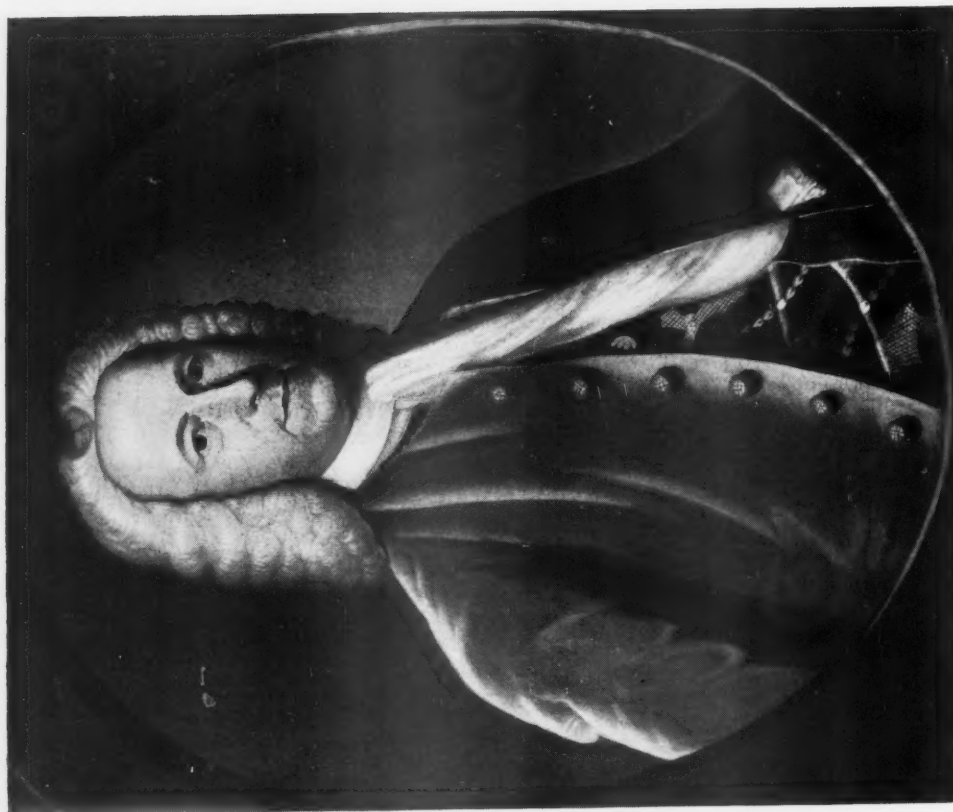


FIG. 3. NATHANIEL SMIBERT (?): BENJAMIN LYNDE, JR.
Mrs. F. S. Mosely, Boston

of the famous Head Master.² It is an intense characterization with bold modelling of the features and a certain amount of swing in the folds of the brown robe with rose facing, buff waistcoat and green hat. Since Nathaniel entered the Latin School in 1744 and probably graduated in 1750,³ this serious and rather strong work probably was painted in 1751, when the "terrific impressions . . . were yet vibrating." Nathaniel was then only 17 years old and was already accustomed to handling his materials with assurance.

The second portrait so far identified is that of Dorothy Wendell, owned by Mrs. Edward B. Alford, of Brookline, Massachusetts (Fig. 2). The sitter is presented, a year before her marriage to Richard Skinner, as a vigorous woman with keen eyes and a firm mouth. As in the portrait of Lovell, the face is neatly modelled and emphatic in shape. There is particular emphasis on exactness of line, and the details are picked out with care. The beautifully executed shawl collar seems at present to contrast with the drapery wrapped artificially about her right arm, but that effect is due to old repainting. An x-ray shadowgraph reveals sweeping folds which originally rose in a bold loop above the shoulder and fell in front of the body at the bottom of the canvas, and which are more consistent with the folds in Lovell's portrait than those visible on the surface. The x-ray shadowgraph also shows that the sitter originally wore a large pendant earring, matching the pearls still visible in her hair. The signature "N. Smibert pinx 1755," indicates that at the age of twenty-one the artist was capable of adding luxurious details to bold forms and blending daintiness with austerity.

The only other portrait positively identified as the work of Nathaniel Smibert is that of Ezra Stiles (Fig. 5), owned by Yale University, which is inscribed on the back "Effigies Ezrae Stiles Aet. 29 (an) no. a Nat. Smibert Depicta, Apr. 2 do 1756," and which is slightly florid in taste. Although the modelling is the same as in the portrait of Dorothy Wendell, Stiles's expression is more flexible. The pattern of his silk morning robe and the curtain suggested in the background have a complicated fluid movement which marks an advance in freedom of design. And the portrait as

²*Harvard College Papers*, 2nd series, XIV, 181. Permission to obtain a copy was granted in 1847; the copy now hangs in the Assembly Hall, Public Latin School, Boston.

³Boys usually entered the school at about ten years of age, which Nathaniel was in 1744, and completed their preliminaries for college in six years. Nathaniel's name is first on the list in the manuscript catalogue of Master John Lovell. William Smibert, two years older than Nathaniel, was entered in 1743, and a mysterious John Smibert, said to have been born only two months before Nathaniel, is entered in 1746. This information through the courtesy of Mr. Lee Dunn, Librarian of the Public Latin School.

a whole is strongly developed, in spite of the misshapen hand which is like the hands in certain anonymous portraits of the first part of the century.⁴ Since the canvas is dated only seven months before the painter's death, it represents the sudden climax of his career.

All three paintings justify the encomiums of the artist's contemporaries and reveal him as a gifted, thoughtful and friendly individual, rather independent of his fellow craftsmen. His friendliness is demonstrated by the observation that he glossed over the appearance of his sitters to such an extent that Lovell, who was forty-two when the painter left school, seems scarcely older than Ezra Stiles, aged twenty-nine, who in turn appears to be little older than Dorothy Wendell, aged twenty-two.

His independence becomes evident when one tries to identify the "best masters" whom he emulated. Certainly the smooth finish and careful draughtsmanship do not follow the rough style of his father, John Smibert, who died in 1752 after some years of inactivity. The strong facial modeling suggests only a slight influence from the engravings of Peter Pelham who died in 1751. The tempered realism may be derived from Robert Feke's most serious portraits,⁵ but there is none of Feke's elegance in Nathaniel's work. If the formula for painting folds is reminiscent of John Greenwood's,⁶ no one could possibly confuse the two styles; Nathaniel's effects are far daintier than Greenwood's, and the portrait of Lovell, undoubtedly finished before Greenwood left the vicinity in 1752, is more plastic than anything done by Greenwood.

Yet Greenwood could have been the young painter's instructor. Greenwood lived in the vicinity of the Smibert home and was one of the appraisers of John Smibert's estate. The fact that until recently Greenwood has been ignored in the histories of Colonial painting, need not prevent us from accepting him as one of the "best masters" of the period. Though his local career was brief, he had dozens of prominent sitters and turned out energetic likenesses which must have been popular, in spite of their proximity to caricature. His temperament was perhaps opposite to Nathaniel Smibert's, but he could have instructed the young man, raised in a home next door to an art gallery, in a neighborhood of painters, to work in an eclectic way. At any rate the fact that Nathaniel imitated Greenwood in such a minor

⁴Frost-Pepperrell group of portraits, mentioned in *Limners and Likenesses*, p. 23, by the present writer. However, there are holes and repairs in Stiles's hand which make the shape appear worse than it originally may have been.

⁵H. W. Foote, *Robert Feke*, 1930; compare especially the portraits of Gershom Flagg, Mrs. John Rowe and the two self-portraits.

⁶See the monograph just published by the Addison Gallery of American Art, Andover, Mass.



FIG. 4. NATHANIEL SMIBERT (?): BENJAMIN POLLARD
Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.



FIG. 5. NATHANIEL SMIBERT: EZRA STILES
Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University



FIG. 6. NATHANIEL STRIBERT (?): MRS. DEBORAH CLARK
Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.



FIG. 7. J. S. COPLEY (?): INDIAN CHIEF
Walker Art Gallery, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.

detail as highlights on drapery, points to a relationship more definite than that between Nathaniel and others whose work he surely knew.

The three identified portraits display a capacity for growth which parallels Copley's rapid advance in the four years before 1757. Taking for comparison Copley's three signed portraits of Jonathan Mountfort, Jane Brown and Ann Tyng,⁷ one sees that Copley developed assurance and a taste for the ornamental in approximately the same manner as young Smibert. Indeed there are common factors in the two series of paintings which may be interpreted as evidence that Copley, three years younger than Nathaniel, followed him in certain instances. Copley's portrait of Mountfort has folds and facial modelling like Smibert's portrait of Lovell. Jane Brown is posed and elegantly bedecked in the manner of Dorothy Wendell. And Ann Tyng's strong face actually resembles Ezra Stiles's. Copley's advance in assurance and complexity of design, shown in the portraits of Jane Brown and Ann Tyng, parallels Smibert's progress from 1755 to 1756.

Three portraits now attributed to other artists contain some of the characteristics found in Nathaniel's work. Two of them are clearly related to the signed portraits. That of Benjamin Lynde, Jr. (Fig. 3), owned by Mrs. F. S. Moseley of Boston, is a match in pose and facial expression, neatness of execution and coloring for that of Dorothy Wendell. Though traditionally attributed to John Smibert with the date of about 1738, it is quite different from Smibert's portrait of Benjamin Lynde, Sr., also owned by Mrs. Moseley, which is datable in that year. It is true that the junior sitter appears to be under forty and not over fifty years old, as he was during the brief period of Nathaniel Smibert's activity. But it has already been observed that Nathaniel tended to ignore differences in age, and it would be illogical to doubt the compelling evidence of the portrait itself solely because the sitter was born in 1700.

A similar situation rises in connection with the portrait of Benjamin Pollard, owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society (Fig. 4); Pollard who died in 1756 at the age of sixty is represented as a man not much older than Ezra Stiles, who was half Pollard's age when Nathaniel painted him. Yet the similarity of the folds in hats and robes, the shape of the ears, mouths and eyes (Pollard's left eye was knocked out at some remote time

⁷See Parker and Wheeler, *John Singleton Copley, The American Portraits*, 1938. The dates of the portraits mentioned are:

Jonathon Mountfort, born 1746, may be six or eight years old (compare John Lovell, painted about 1751)

Jane Brown, 1756 (compare Dorothy Wendell, 1755)

Ann Tyng, 1756 (compare Ezra Stiles, April 1756)

and is now completely restored) imply that Nathaniel Smibert painted Pollard about the same time he painted Stiles.⁸ There are no stylistic reasons for attributing the portrait to Blackburn, as has been done.

The third portrait offers still another problem in making a connection between the apparent age of the sitter and the active years of the painter. Mrs. Deborah (Cedney) Clark (Fig. 6) was born in 1677 and was last noticed⁹ in 1727. If she lived to 1750 she was seventy-three when Nathaniel Smibert left school and began work. Yet the calm features in the bust portrait owned by the Essex Institute, in Salem, are not particularly wrinkled. The modelling of the domed forehead, double chin, mouth and the folds, nevertheless suggests that Nathaniel painted her about the time he painted Lovell, perhaps a little earlier, since the draughtsmanship is less sure and the brushwork somewhat muddled. Mrs. Clark's eyes have the staring, elliptical shape which is so frequent in Greenwood's portraits, but the execution is too dainty for Greenwood, let alone John Smibert, to whom the portrait has been attributed. What the elder Smibert could do with the subject of an elderly lady is well illustrated in the Essex Institute's rough textured portrait of Margaret Sewell, which contrasts radically with Mrs. Clark's smooth likeness. If only on stylistic grounds, the latter should be considered an early example of Nathaniel's art.

Two more paintings enter the discussion because they have been tentatively attributed to young Smibert. But one of them, the portrait of Charles Chauncey, owned by Harvard University, now appears¹⁰ to have been executed in a combination of bold sketchy strokes and thin soft brushwork, quite unlike anything in the portraits mentioned above. And the other, the portrait of an Indian Chief, owned by Bowdoin College, was left unfinished and may have been partly repainted at an early date (Fig. 7), the robe which silhouettes hand and sleeve being inconsistent with the rest. Considering only the face and hand, one is struck by the similarity in brushwork to Copley's thin and nervous manner of about 1765, as in the portraits of Thomas Hancock, Nathaniel Hurd, the Girl with Grapes, etc.

⁸Another version of this portrait was owned in 1878 by Miss Margaret V. Winslow, of Boston. The extant version is freely painted with folds of some sort hidden in the background above the right shoulder and some large form painted over in the chest. Although it lacks the firmness of contour and compact modelling which are characteristic of the signed and documented portraits, the brushwork is not inconsistent. Whether or not this is the original portrait, Nathaniel Smibert seems to have been the originator.

⁹Briggs, *Cabot History*, I, 39-40

¹⁰Tentatively attributed to Nathaniel by the present writer in *Harvard Portraits*, 1936, 38, because of the coloring, and because the surface effect of the face recalled that of the Lovell portrait. X-ray shadowgraphs reveal the difference in method. The same artist may have painted the portrait of Rev. Seth Storer (1724-1774) owned by Langdon Warner, Cambridge, Mass.

Copley's manner of painting over a gray-green undertone, evident in the unfinished portrait of Hurd, on loan at the Pennsylvania Museum of Art, is evident here, although Hurd's face has a more subtle character. The difficulty is: if the Indian is attributed to Nathaniel Smibert,¹¹ Nathaniel must in this instance have anticipated Copley's technique of a decade later in a most clairvoyant way and must also have learned a lot about the structure of hands in the six months left to him after he finished the portrait of Ezra Stiles. The attribution to Copley offers less difficulty.

In any event there are at least six portraits which carry the artistic character of the young man who came forth as a flower and was cut down. Unassuming, clear headed and engaging, he had strong qualities as an interpreter of character. He drew "the internal picture" well. Independently he began a career which might naturally have become an honor "to the imitative art."

¹¹Attributed to Nathaniel Smibert by William Sawitzky, according to a note from the Walker Art Gallery, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.

TWO UNDESCRIBED FIFTEENTH CENTURY PRINTS IN THE COLLECTION OF LESSING J. ROSENWALD

BY ELIZABETH MONGAN

Alverthorpe Gallery, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania

Probably one of the most agreeable dreams of any print collector is that in which there lies revealed a hidden print nesting in some unlikely place. Certainly the actual discovery of such unknown material in the field of old engravings is an unusual occurrence at this late date in the history of collecting, when so many comprehensive and descriptive catalogues exist.

While preparing a number of fifteenth century prints for an exhibition an unique and undescribed dotted print, representing the *Monogram of Christ*, was removed from an old frame (Fig. 1). The reverse of the metal cut revealed that a small piece of white paper, measuring 112 mm. x 81 mm., was firmly fixed to the print. A faint depression, just discernible in the white paper, aroused the suspicion, always courted in fifteenth century material but rarely rewarded, that another print might be concealed under the second paper. A corner of this second white paper was lifted and turned back to disclose a fine example of a paste print representing St. Catherine (Fig. 2).

Unfortunately, very little is known of the former history of the present example with its double impressions. The sheet entered the collection with other material bought in 1930. Before that time it had been in the possession of Messrs. Colnaghi and Rosenbach respectively, but of an earlier provenance there is no trace. Therefore, all discussion of dating and origin must be based on the physical evidence to be seen in the prints themselves. The most logical procedure is to begin with a description of the metal cut, which offers no real problems although it is undescribed by Schreiber.

The metal cut, measuring 185 mm. x 126 mm., is divided into two compartments. In the lower section the letters I H S appear in the center of a flaming aureole. A "T" cross stems from the inner circle enclosing the monogram to the upper section of the print, where Christ hangs between the Virgin and Saint John. The background of the upper section is filled with symbols of the Passion of Our Lord. Around the flaming aureole appear the Latin words: *In nomine*jesu*omne*genu*flectatur*celestium*terrestrium*et*infernorum*Jhs sp sit in ore*. Faint traces of coloring, green, yellow and pale vermillion, are still apparent. The following inscription in





FIG. 2. ST. CATHERINE (Paste Print, Infra-red Photograph)
Collection of Lessing J. Rosenzvald, Jenkintown, Pa.

Latin, written in a seventeenth century hand, appears in the margin at the foot of the metal cut:

Videtur iconismus hic uti (?) coram est expressus ad prima ferme . . . rudis adhuc typographicae artis circa annos 1440 aut 50 tentamenta referendus. Leges autem litteris gothicis li . . . oque verba sig. in modum. In medio Iesus orbem (?) in nomina (sic!) Iesu x omne genuflectatur x celestium x terrestrium x et infernorum x Iesus snot (forte sonet) in ore. Adposite icon haec isthuic epe (epistolae ??) clarissimi eiusdem sacratissimi hominis propugnatrix nostri Bernardini Senensis praefixa est; ac vel inde dictam a me super aetatem annorum (sic!) circiter 1400-50 utpote intra quos maxime de speciali cultu eiusdem SS (sancti ?) nominis etiam per imagines actum fuit.

The next paragraph is an attempt on the part of the scribe at reading the gothic letters:

. . . (circle?) in nomina Iesu omne genuflectatur celestium et infernorum Iesus snot (forte sonet) in ore. (The scribe does not understand the end of the gothic letters, which seem to read: Iesus sit sic in ore. The first part is from Philippians II, 10.)

It seems as though this image, as we see it printed before us, should be attributed almost to the earliest attempts of the still . . . crude typographical art, around the years 1440 or 50. For (however?) you will read words cut out in gothic letters and (limoque?) in the manner of a seal. In the middle Jesus . . . (Here one or more lines are missing).

That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth. And that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord . . . This image is prefixed to this subjoined (?) letter (?) of the same most distinguished and most holy man our champion Bernard of Siena; and therefore at a period of years (?) said by me to be around 1400-50, as being within the years when there was special activity also (even ?) by way of images concerning the particular cult of this same holy (?) name.

The letters H.Diz at the end seem to be unrelated.¹

The religious allegory represented in the metal cut has an involved character which was both obvious and attractive to the fifteenth century intelligence. At that time the mystical writings of such Saints as Gertrude, Bernard and Bridget, to mention but three, were exceedingly popular. Also, the hundreds of editions of Meditations on the Passion and Books of Hours, many of them illustrated, helped to familiarize the public with the exact meaning of each emblem. It is usually assumed in the iconographies of the Saints written in English that the attribute of the monogram of Christ in a flaming aureole belongs only to Saint Bernardino of Siena, or St. Vincent Ferrer. Also, the manuscript in the margin of the

¹Translation of Latin inscriptions on metal cut through kindness of Miss Lily Ross Taylor, Latin Department, Bryn Mawr College.

paper calls attention to Bernardino of Siena as the Saint through whose efforts the cult of the Holy Name was diffused. But the manuscript is in a seventeenth century hand, and since the metal cut is of German origin perhaps it should be noted, also, that St. Suso or Heinrich von Berg, born in Ueberlingen on Lake Constance, ca. 1300, almost eighty years before St. Bernardino, should also be associated with the monogram of Christ. St. Suso, a Dominican monk and a pupil of Meister Eckhart, traveled especially in Suabia, where his eloquence in preaching won many followers. His most famous treatise, a mystical work entitled, *Das Buchlein der ewigen Weisheit*, or, in the Latin version (he wrote both texts himself), *Horologium Sapientiae*, was printed by Anton Sorg in 1482, with the title, *Das Buch Genant Seuse*, (Census No. S. 772). In the Augsburg printed edition there appeared six large woodcuts, two of them curiously relevant to the theme of the metal cut (Figs. 3 and 4). In the second illustration it is apparent that St. Suso carries the monogram of Christ as his special symbol. Thus we have a native source for this symbolism in Suabia as well as in Italy but, of course, innumerable other examples of the use of the monogram in art are to be found both in Italy and north of the Alps.

Two metal cuts with the monogram in a flaming aureole, surmounted by a cross, are described by Schreiber under Nos. 2754 and 2754F, but both lack the Madonna and Saint John; also, a woodcut version of the same theme, which was apparently made at Ulm, ca. 1470. The latter served as a title page for a rare edition of a *Plenarium* (Hain 6737), published by Anton Sorg in 1478 (Fig. 5).

However, in spite of obvious similarities to both these metal and wood cut versions, it seems more probable that our metal cut was copied from an earlier engraving, possibly a lost one by the Master of the Playing Cards or his school. This seems especially likely, as the style of the metal cut does not conform to the work done at Cologne, the most prolific center for dotted prints. The rather crude, unarticulated drawing of the figures, the small, claw-like hands, and the use of a few abbreviated dashes to indicate the features are sufficiently unlike most of the Cologne examples to suggest that the origin of the cut was somewhere in the region of the Upper Rhine. The print probably dates ca. 1460-1470, or after the first phase in dotted prints when the background was cut away and dots were used on the faces and figures, but before the last stage which ended about 1500.

Let us now turn from the metal cut to a consideration of the paste

print on the reverse. Of all the known classes of prints, the so-called paste prints are the most rare. Passavant, writing in 1860, described sixteen paste prints and mentioned a few others which he had not seen. Since then more informative studies have been published by Georg Leidinger, William L. Schreiber, Max Geisberg, John F. Lewis, Miss Laura Howland Dudley, and most recently by Professor Thomas Ollive Mabbott. To date only about 200 examples of the type are known. Professor Mabbott, writing in the *Metropolitan Museum Studies* (Vol. IV, Part I, 1932, February), clarified many of the puzzling problems connected with these curious prints. He divided the known specimens into four categories (1) Woodcuts with a paste decoration (*Empreintes a guise de broderie*), (2) Seal prints and Seal paste prints (*Siegel drucke* and *Siegelteigdrucke*), (3) Flockprints, and (4) Normal paste prints. The fourth classification is the one to which this particular print seems to belong.

Mr. Mabbott described (as far as was possible without chemical analysis) the method by which he thinks normal paste prints were made. A metal plate cut in relief was pressed into a soft mass to leave an impression. The mass, so-called "paste," was attached to the paper either with or without the use of an adhesive. Afterwards the "paste" was variously treated, apparently in an attempt to make these small prints seem more attractive. The contrary, unfortunately, happened; the mass was friable and the materials used to decorate the mass have darkened with time. Thus attempts to identify these particular materials have failed, and surmises have added a certain confusion to the understanding of the methods used.

Up until now it has been generally assumed that it would be impossible to define chemically the substance of the "paste" mass and the special properties of the adhesive. Mr. Rutherford J. Gettens, of the Department of Conservation of the Fogg Museum of Art, kindly consented to examine the material of which the St. Catherine print was formed. It was a most difficult problem, since the sample taken could be only minute and the substance was very brittle. But the results of his first examination were so provocative that three other characteristic examples of the class termed "normal" by Mr. Mabbott were also examined (1) *Madonna and Child*, Schreiber 2824c, (2) *St. John the Baptist*, Schreiber 2850m, and (3) *Madonna and Child in Interior of Gothic Church*, Schreiber 2825.

Since only four prints have been so analyzed it is not advisable now to make a comprehensive and final statement. Further complete technical studies will probably be published later. But it would be most unlikely that

the results of these first examinations do not prove to be generally true. Only a summary of the facts discovered by Mr. Gettens in the laboratory will be given here.

Microscopic examination revealed that there were four distinct layers of different materials between the two papers; three belong to the "paste" print proper and the fourth, an adhesive, covers the reverse of the metal cut. The substance of the first under layer (I) which was the thickest of the three layers, was identified as tin sulphate. This conclusion was confirmed by the use of X-ray diffraction analysis by Miss Betty Rogers, of Harvard University, Department of Mineralogy. The material is light grey, has a crusty appearance, and is very brittle. There was no evidence of any adhesive holding the tin sulphate to the paper. The second or intermediate layer (II), between the tin sulphate layer and the upper black layer is a clear yellow-orange medium layer. Its properties indicate that it is a clear resin or varnish film. The upper layer (III) is black in color. This is the medium in which the lines of the design are printed. It appears to be a mixture of carbon black (lamp black) with a soft resin and is very brittle. The adhesive which covers the reverse of the metal cut seems to be some sort of a vegetable glue or gum. In regard to the other three prints which were also examined these words from Mr. Gettens's report may be quoted as a summary:

These three paste prints and the one previously examined have much in common both in respect to the structure of the paste and in the composition of the materials. In each print (except possibly in the first examined) the paper is sized all over with a substance that has the properties of a vegetable gum. This size seems to have darkened considerably; in two prints the layer is speckled with red lead but the other two bear none of the red pigment. In the imprinted areas the lower layer of dots and lines is composed of a dense grayish white material identified as tin sulphate. This is the principal layer of the paste structure. Although it is brittle and friable most of it remains intact on the prints. Tin sulphate seems not to have been previously identified on objects of this period and, in fact, it is not known to be used for any such purpose at the present time. No explanation of its presence or purpose can now be given. There is a remote possibility that it has resulted from the oxidation of yellow stannic sulphide (SnS_2) which under the name 'mosaic gold,' was formerly used in imitation of gold. No traces, however, of stannic sulphide or any direct evidence that it was used were observed during the investigation. Explanation of the occurrence of this stannic sulphate will require further investigation which may entail laboratory studies as well as inquiries into medieval recipes and modern chemical literature.

When the St. Catherine was first examined it was thought that the paste print had originally been printed on the reverse side of the metal cut,

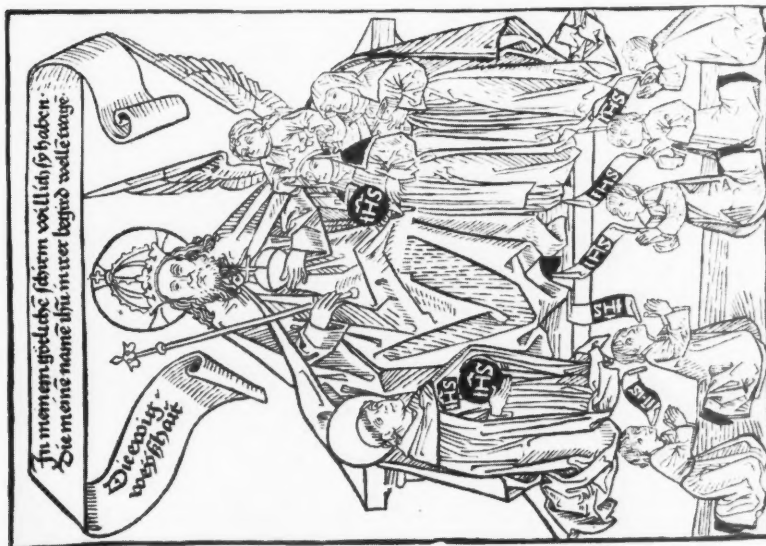


FIG. 3. WOODCUT ILLUSTRATION FROM
Das Buch Genant Seuse (Anton Sorg, 1482)

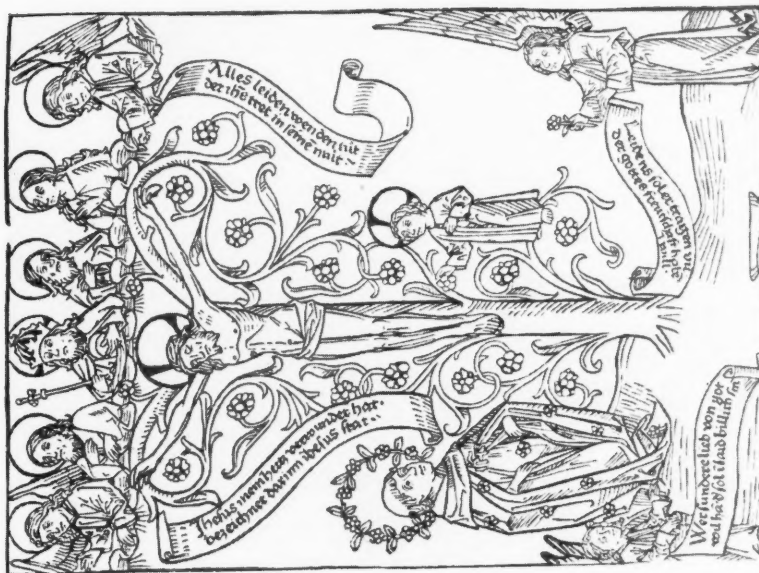


FIG. 4. WOODCUT ILLUSTRATION FROM
Das Buch Genant Seuse (Anton Sorg, 1482)

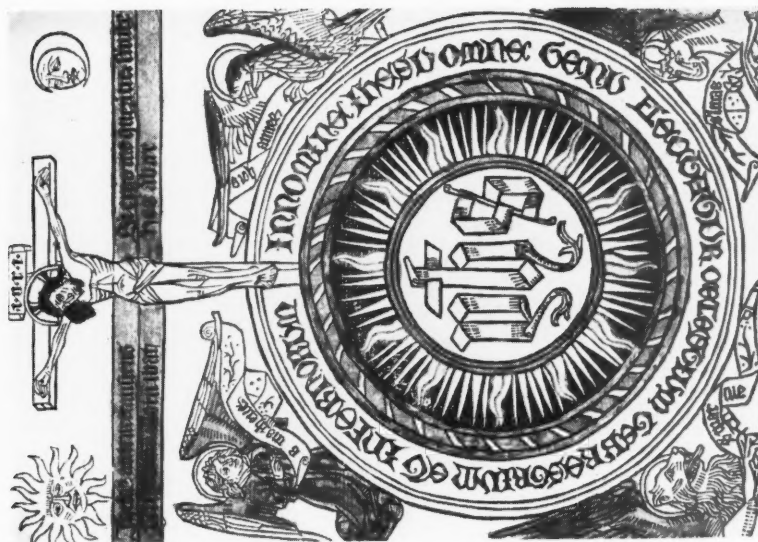
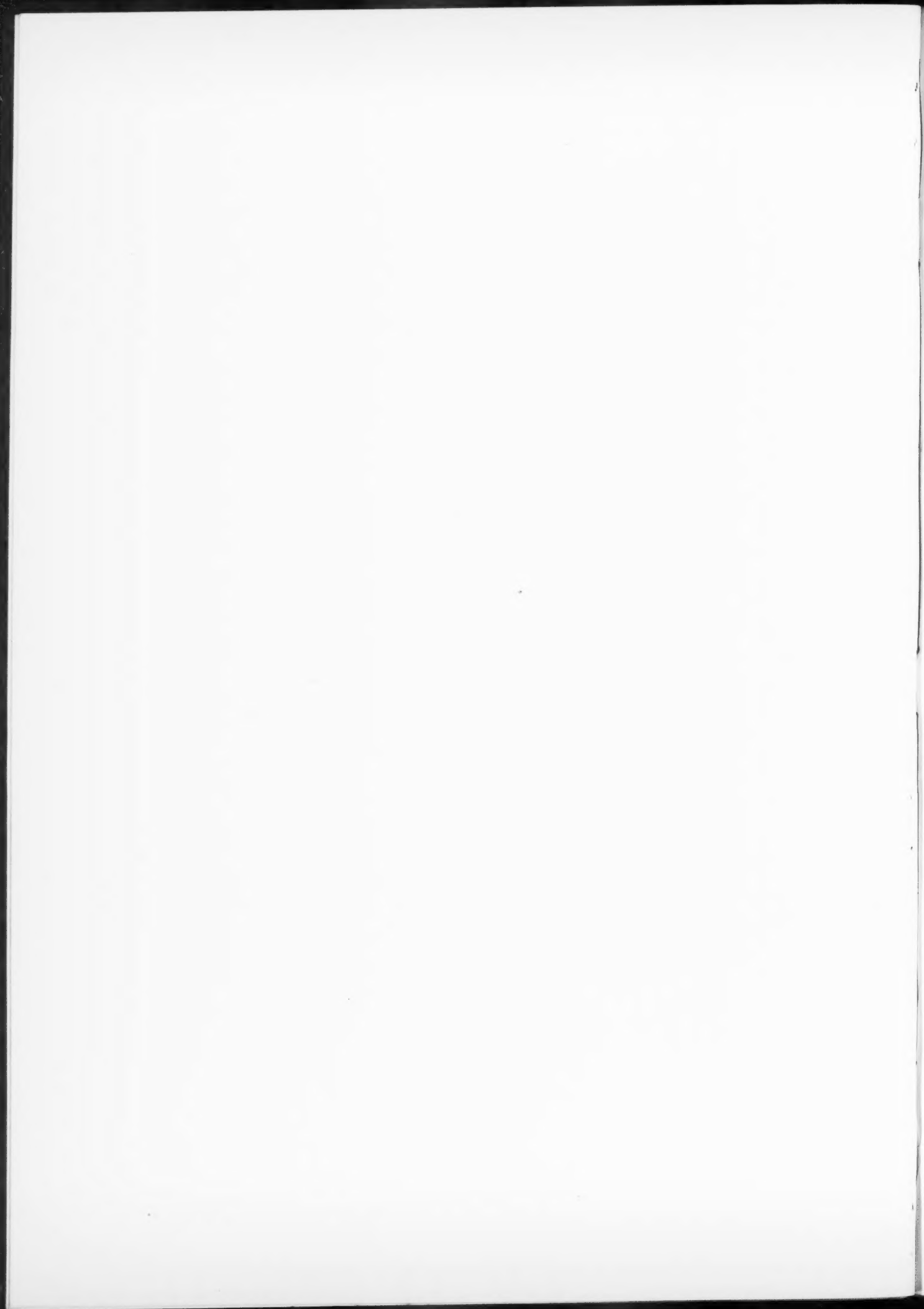


FIG. 5. TITLE PAGE FOR A Plenarium
(Anton Sorg, 1478)



and that a counter proof was on the small white paper. This would make it similar to the Brussels print.² Such a theory is untenable, however, now, since from the analysis it is clear that the tin sulphate was the basic layer. Also, this layer (due to pressure in printing) adheres more strongly to the small white paper than to the glue on the reverse of the metal cut. So we have two distinct prints in no way originally related to one another that by chance became fixed together.

Paste prints were probably made between the years 1470 and 1523 in Southern Germany. It is not certain for what purpose they were originally intended, but since most of the known examples have been found pasted in incunabula it seems likely that they were used for decoration of the books, just as were the fifteenth century woodcuts and metal prints, and in common with the more usual types of fifteenth century prints they might also have been used to decorate wooden chests. Certainly not many could have been manufactured, and the whole process must have been abandoned as an unsatisfactory experiment rather early.

It has been shown that quite often the paste prints were printed from metal plates, as in the *Crucifixion*, Guildhall, London; and *Christ Disrobed by the Soldiers*, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge. A study, carried out as far as was possible from photographs and descriptions of known fifteenth century woodcuts and dotted prints, led to the conclusion that the present example does not correspond with any woodcuts or dotted prints of St. Catherine listed in Schreiber. In the known metal cuts representing the Saint, she usually wears an elaborately brocaded robe. Here on the contrary she appears in a simple garment with narrow belt and high neckline. Also, in the metal cuts, and in many of the paste impressions of the Saint, a floral border and floor made up of lozenges or some other stylized pattern is often evident, while here St. Catherine proceeds more naturally on her way across the grass; a small pot of flowers seems to be the only additional trimming. The drawing is forthright; a few decisive line present both the face and figure. In facial type, the bold, jutting chin, prominent nose, and

²Up to the present time no other example of a past print on the back of another print has been recorded. In 1877 M. H. Hymans, in *Documents Iconographiques et Typographiques de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, described two prints, one an engraving, the other a woodcut, which were printed on the same paper. In that case a white line engraving of Saint Dorothy had on the verso a woodcut representing Purgatory. The conclusion reached by Mr. Hymans was that the woodcut of Purgatory was made under the influence of Durer in the sixteenth century. It was probably made for a book, but bears no text. From these circumstances Mr. Hymans concluded that the relationship between the two prints was accidental. He thought it likely that the Saint Dorothy might be a proof taken in the sixteenth century of a plate which at that time did not go back more than fifty years, and has since disappeared like so many of the other plates executed at the same epoch.

well marked eyes set in an oval suggest some of the figures to be found in the Nuremberg woodcut books of ca. 1480. The design might well have been made near Nuremberg in the last third of the fifteenth century.³

In conclusion, it is not possible to state categorically how this strange conjunction of two rare prints happened, probably it was purely accidental. The paste print along with other waste material might have been inside the cover of an old book. Then the back of the metal cut was covered with adhesive and pasted over this waste in the inside of the book. At some later date when the metal cut was removed from the binding, the paste print, because of the strong adhesive on the back of the metal cut adhered to the metal cut paper and remained so fixed until the present.

³St. Catherine was, of course, popular everywhere and there are countless representations of her, but it is interesting to note here that there was a large Dominican convent dedicated to her at Nuremberg. For the activities of the convent and prints coming from it see:

Weinberger, Martin. *Die Formschnitte des Katherinenklosters zu Nurnberg*, Munich, 1925
Dodgson, Campbell. *Woodcuts of the XVth century*, London, British Museum, 1934, pg. 8.

The paper has a fairly clear watermark, a kind of gothic P with a base resembling a wrench, which is unfortunately so unlike any gothic P listed in Briquet or other references as to be of no assistance in locating the paper.

On the right hand side of the paper near the paste cover paper there are faint traces of what appears to have been brush lettering. In this connection it is interesting to juxtapose a sheet printed with an ornamental alphabet (the *Ornamental Alphabet*, Schreiber 2001), made probably ca. 1480-1490, belonged at one time to Patrus Gustave Kemli, a scribe at Gall, now in the collection of Lessing J. Rosenwald.

